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From its very inception the Russian state was a military Soci-
ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the emphasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.